

Malo's *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*: The Lost Translation

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AMONG THE DAVIDA MALO FILES at the Bishop Museum are two manuscripts and a typescript of an anonymous and incomplete English translation of Malo's *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*. This article describes these manuscripts, tracks down the translator (none other than Judge Lorrin Andrews), presents a sample chapter, and discusses the translation's value as a guide to understanding Malo.

Versions, manuscripts, and translations referred to in this article
(n.b. KMH stands for *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i*)

Abbreviation	Language	Content	Description
KMH- Anonymous	English	Unpublished English translation of Malo's <i>Mo'olelo Hawai'i</i>	An anonymous, incomplete, and unpublished translation of Malo's <i>Mo'olelo Hawai'i</i> , preserved in two handwritten manuscripts and one typescript at the Bishop Museum (see HI.L.19A/B/D below). This translation lacks Malo's opening statement and his final 10 chapters.

(Continued on next page)

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Abbreviation	Language	Content	Description
KMH-Emerson	English	<i>Hawaiian Antiquities</i> ¹	Nathaniel Emerson's 1903 annotated translation of Davida Malo's <i>Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i</i> (KM-H-Malo)
KMH-Dibble	Hawaiian	<i>Ka Moolelo Hawaii</i> ² edited by Rev. Sheldon Dibble (Dibela)	The first published work (1838) known as <i>Ka Moolelo Hawaii</i> , a collaborative work of Lahaina-luna students who gathered oral histories throughout Hawai'i that were then assembled and edited by Rev. Sheldon Dibble. Davida Malo appears to have been responsible for large parts of this history. n.b. The content of this work is entirely different from Malo's book of the same name (KM-H-Malo).
KMH-Malo	Hawaiian	<i>Ka Moolelo Hawai'i</i> by Davida Malo	Malo's ethnographical description of classical Hawaiian civilization, widely known through N.B. Emerson's translation (see KM-H-Emerson above). The contents of KM-H-Malo are entirely different from KM-H-Dibble, but parts of KM-H-Malo are found in KM-H-Pogue (see below).
KMH-Pogue	Hawaiian	<i>Ka Moolelo Hawaii</i> ³ adapted by Rev. J.F. Pogue (Pokuea)	Rev. J.F. Pogue's adaptation of KM-H-Dibble with extensive (but uncredited) passages from KM-H-Malo. Published in book form in 1858 and again as a newspaper serial in 1858–1859 in <i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i> .
HI.L.18 ⁴	Hawaiian	Original Hawaiian language manuscript of KM-H-Malo	Also know as "The Carter Manuscript." Handwritten, unsigned manuscript of KM-H-Malo, partially in Malo's own hand, with the remainder written by two unidentified copyists. (Bishop Museum)

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Abbreviation	Language	Content	Description
HI.L.19	Hawaiian	Hawaiian language manuscript of KMH-Malo	Also known as "The Alexander Copy." Handwritten copy of HI.L.18. The first several pages are in the hand of W.D. Alexander, the rest by an unknown copyist. (Bishop Museum)
HI.L.19D	English	Xerox copy of handwritten translation of KMH-Malo	A partial Xerox copy of a handwritten version of KMH-Anonymous. Many pages are missing. This appears to have been the translator's working copy.
HI.L.19A	English	Handwritten copy of LI.H.19D.	A careful and complete handwritten copy of KMH-Anonymous, including the content of the missing pages of HI.L.19D. (Bishop Museum)
HI.L.19B	English	Edited typescript of KMH Anonymous	A typed English translation of KMH-Malo based on HI.L.19D. (Bishop Museum)

PART I. THE ANONYMOUS TRANSLATION⁵

At the time of Davida Malo's death in 1853, his manuscript of the *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, incomplete, unedited and entirely unpublished, remained for a time in the possession of his wife.⁶ This manuscript (Bishop Museum HI.L.18), copied out by Malo and two others, subsequently journeyed from Kēōkea, Maui, to Honolulu in the possession of the royal family and was then lent to Rev. Richard Armstrong of the Board of Education. Armstrong, in turn, lent it to Rev. J.F. Pogue of Lahainaluna who, in 1858, was required to hand it over to Edward. P. Bond, the guardian of Malo's only child. Rev. Pogue had drawn extensively from Malo's manuscript in his own reworked *Moolelo Hawaii* (KMH-Pogue) and when it was announced in the *The Polynesian* that an English translation of selections from Pogue's book was planned for publication, Bond wrote a letter to the editor protesting that Malo's manuscript was being used without his family ever having received any compensation.⁷ During the next year, following considerable negotiation, the manuscript was purchased by the government at the price of \$75 and has remained in Honolulu ever since,

first at the offices of the Board of Education, and then at the Bishop Museum.

EARLY REACTION TO MALO'S BOOK

Despite the remarkable nature of Malo's work, perhaps the single most important description of classical Hawaiian religion and culture, it was considered disappointing by Rev. Armstrong and other foreign readers⁸ as well as by some of the Hawaiian chiefs.⁹ Although Malo's manuscript was broadly plagiarized in Pogue's composite version of the *Moolelo Hawaii* (KMH-Pogue),¹⁰ only one chapter ever appeared in English prior to the 1903 publication of N.B. Emerson's *Hawaiian Antiquities* (KMH-Emerson).¹¹ Malo's original Hawaiian fared even worse, remaining entirely unpublished until Malcolm Chun printed his personal typescript of the manuscripts in 1987¹² and a revised typescript with translation in 1996 and again in 2006.¹³

AN UNIDENTIFIED TRANSLATION

It turns out that Nathaniel Emerson's *Hawaiian Antiquities* (KMH-Emerson) was not the first translation of Malo. In preparation for a critical edition of the Hawaiian text and a new annotated English translation, Dr. Charles Langlas (of UH Hilo) and I have been combing the newspapers and archives of Hawai'i (and elsewhere) in search of resources to aid in understanding Malo's difficult manuscript. Among the more important sources that have come to light are two hitherto unpublished manuscripts of an anonymous English translation housed at the Bishop Museum, designated as HI.L.19A and HI.L.19D.

A comparison of these two manuscripts shows that one is copied from the other. HI.L.19D is an incomplete Xerox copy of a handwritten manuscript with many interlinear and marginal corrections. The later manuscript, HI.L.19A, is a complete copy of HI.L.19D, with all its corrections merged into the body of the text. At first glance, HI.L.19A appears to have been prepared for publication, but a closer examination reveals otherwise. While HI.L.19D is missing its first page and pages 81 to 172 (containing chapters 21:26b to 38:2a), these are all present in HI.L.19A. On the other hand, both manuscripts come

to an abrupt end at the beginning of chapter 58,¹⁴ ending with the chapter title "Of the Flood. Kaiakahinalii." This title occurs at the top of page 306 of HI.L.19A and the rest of the page is blank. The pages following the end of the Malo translation in HI.L.19D are covered in the genealogical lore of the family that came to own the manuscript (the Andrew Davidson family) since the museum's notes indicate that HI.L.19D was returned to the owner, it is likely that the original, either partial or complete, is still in private hands.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TWO ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS

When I first compared the two manuscripts, they appeared to me as if written by different persons, although I no longer hold this view. The earlier of the two (HI.L.19D) contains many marginal and inter-linear corrections and seems to have been the translator's original working copy. It was here that the translator appears to have penned his initial draft followed by his numerous corrections. The later document, HI.L.19A, is a clear and accurate copy of HI.L.19D, into which the copyist has carefully worked all the corrections and changes as a single, continuous text. If we think of the former (HI.L.19D) as a working draft, and the latter (HI.L.19A) as a copy prepared for use by others, the care exerted in the copying would probably account for all the differences in the handwriting.

There is a third copy of this translation at the Bishop Museum, labeled HI.L.19B, a bound volume with an edited typescript of KMH-Anonymous. The notes on this folder indicate that it was "Translated by various, but unknown parties from the manuscript of David Malo / Belonging to the Hawaiian Board of Education." While it is based on LI.H.19D, some passages have been revised.

INNOVATIONS IN THE TRANSLATION

One innovation of this translation (KMH-Anonymous) is in the numbering of the chapters from 41 to 67. While Malo's own Hawaiian language manuscript exhibits some confusion in the chapter numbers, it is clear that Malo meant his book to consist of 51 separate chapters. The anonymous translator broke up Malo's chapter 41, *Nā Hana Le'ale'a* (Concerning Amusements), into 17 separate chapters,

one for each amusement. This innovation, along with the title *Hawaiian Antiquities*, is also found in N.B. Emerson's *Hawaiian Antiquities* (KMH-Emerson) and has become the standard chapter division used when citing Malo. The title and modified chapter numbers would also seem to indicate that Emerson had access to this translation while preparing *Hawaiian Antiquities*. This anonymous translation is considerably older than KMH-Emerson, as will be shown below. Emerson was contracted by the museum, through the urging of W.D. Alexander, to produce the translation for \$1000. He was later paid an additional \$200 for work done on the index. Alexander, who had provided a number of his own notes in addition to Emerson's, then made additional edits on both the text and the index. The work was again re-edited, though without changes to the translation or notes, in 1951. The version of KMH-Emerson sold today continues to be the 1951 edition.¹⁵

THE SOURCE TEXT BEHIND THE ANONYMOUS TRANSLATION

There are two Hawaiian language manuscripts of KMH-Malo, HI.L.18 (often referred to as "the Carter manuscript"), partially written in Malo's own hand, and HI.L.19 (sometimes called "the Alexander copy"), partially in W.D. Alexander's hand (the first seven and one half pages) with the rest in an as yet unidentified handwriting (pages 8 through 168). While HI.L.19 is in most respects a careful copy of HI.L.18, it does exhibit a few characteristics of its own.

1. HI.L.19 curiously omits Malo's opening paragraph in which Malo discusses the fallible nature of his work due to its dependence on oral tradition.
2. HI.L.19 incorporates the crude cross-outs and edits in chapter 20 of HI.L.18 (*Concerning the Kauā*) where Malo listed the names of the earliest members of the *kauā* genealogy. Several names in this genealogy, along with the word *kauā*, were later blotted out or replaced and the story edited by a reader who evidently took offence at Malo's account of *kauā* origins.
3. HI.L.19 regularly corrects Malo's Hawaiian. Because HI.L.18 is largely unedited, some of these corrections are helpful, e.g. omitted letters, metatheses, omitted particles, etc., but in many places the copyist made misguided changes in Malo's Hawaiian where he either misunderstood

Malo's meaning and tried to correct it, or disapproved of characteristic features of Malo's language and attempted to normalize it.¹⁶

The last of these features is difficult to detect in an English translation, but the anonymous translator's imitation of features one and two in HI.L.19 make it clear that the translator was using, at least part of the time, HI.L.19 as the basis of his translation. There are other indications, however, that he occasionally worked from HI.L.18.¹⁷ In other words, the translator must have had access to both. Because the opening part of HI.L.19 is copied in W.D. Alexander's hand, this would seem to indicate that HI.L.19 was copied from Malo's personal copy (HI.L.18) after April of 1859, when HI.L.18 came into the permanent possession of the Board of Education.¹⁸

TRACKING DOWN THE TRANSLATOR

There is a misleading note on the Bishop Museum folder containing HI.L.19D, stating that the manuscript was prepared for Lorrin Andrews by Davida Malo.¹⁹ The handwriting in HI.L.19A/D is certainly not Malo's and we have no indication that Malo had any real command of conversational, much less literary, English. When he wrote letters to mission supporters living in America, he wrote in Hawaiian and others translated his words into English.²⁰ Since all the manuscripts of KMH-Anonymous are unsigned, we are forced to seek the identity of the translator by other means.

In March of 1866 an article appeared in *The Friend* containing a translation of Malo's chapter 13 (Concerning tame and wild animals) with an introduction by "A" and a translation provided by "a friend."²¹ The language of this translation is identical to that found in KMH-Anonymous. While this does not provide us with a name, the publication date does narrow the list of candidates and also rules out Bishop Museum staff.²²

A second, and perhaps decisive, piece of information was published in Adolf Bastian's 1881 article wherein he printed his own German version of Malo's chapter concerning canoes (chapter 34, *No ko Hawai'i nei Wa'a*).²³ Bastian, who that same year published the first ever translation of the *Kumulipo*, had spent a short time in Honolulu during his Pacific voyages while researching Polynesian

cosmogony and was there given access to a number of manuscripts, including Malo's. He had wanted to publish Malo's complete text but the short duration of his stay limited him to the preparation of one sample chapter. By looking at Malo's original with the aid of a local expert, and by consulting an unpublished English translation co-located with Malo's manuscript at what he called the *Kultus-Ministerium* (probably the Board of Education), he was able to provide a German translation of that chapter in order to furnish his readers with some idea of Malo's work. Significantly, he names the author of the unpublished translation. Here follow the relevant paragraphs from his introduction.²⁴

Bei einem Aufenthalt in Honolulu erhielt ich Einsicht in ein auf dem dortigen Kultus-Ministerium aufbewahrtes Manuskript, das alte Hawaii und seine Geschichte betreffend. Der kürzlich verstorbene Verfasser ist unter dem Namen David Malo*) nicht nur in Hawaii wohl bekannt, sondern durch seine vielfache Erwähnung in den über diese Inseln publicierten Schriften auch weiter hinaus. Er war einer der Ersten unter den einheimischen Gelehrten, der sich den amerikanischen Missionaren bei ihrer dortigen Niederlassung anschloss, und von diesen im Schreiben unterrichtet, wandte er diese neu erworbene Fertigkeit dazu an, die bisher nur mündlich bewahrten Traditionen seiner Heimat, die vor der nun einbrechenden Zeit rasch dahinschwanden, auf dem Papier zu fixiren.ß

During a stop in Honolulu, I was able to view a manuscript in the care of the ministry of culture dealing with old Hawaii and its history. The author was David Malo who had recently died. Malo was not only famous throughout Hawaii but also in foreign lands because of the many references to him in the published writings on these islands. He was one of the first native scholars who attached himself to the American missionaries who had journeyed to his country, and having been instructed by them in writing, he turned this newly gained ability to the preservation in written form of the traditional learning of his people which had previously been preserved solely through oral tradition, and which is now on the verge of being entirely lost because of the onslaught of new forms of learning brought by the missionaries.

Der Missionär J. [sic] Andrews, der durch sein Wörterbuch und seine Grammatik als erste Autorität im Hawaiischen betrachtet werden kann, beabsichtigte Malo's Geschichte Hawaii's dem Druck zu übergeben,

und liess die Übersetzung des Hawaiischen Textes ins Englische beginnen. Doch war bei seinem Tode erst ein Teil vollendet, und dieser, zusammen mit dem Rest im Hawaii, ist wie erwähnt, auf dem Kultus-Ministerium in Honolulu aufbewahrt. Die Kürze meines Aufenthalts in Hawaii erlaubt nicht, das Ganze für eine Veröffentlichung vorzubereiten; doch sah ich den hawaiischen Text mit Hülfe eines Munshi durch, und konnte eine Anzahl von Notizen aus der englischen Übersetzung entnehmen.

The missionary J. [*sic*] Andrews, who by reason of his grammar and dictionary of Hawaiian can be considered the preeminent authority on the Hawaiian language, was planning to bring to press Malo's Hawaiian history and had also managed to start work on an English translation of Malo's book. At the time of his death, however, only part of this had been done, and this [translation] together with the rest in Hawaiian, was, as previously mentioned, kept at the ministry of culture [Kultus-Ministerium] in Honolulu. Because of the brevity of my stay in Hawaii, I was unable to prepare the entire document for printing, nevertheless, I did examine some pages in the original Hawaiian, and a local expert lent me his aid, and I was also able to draw on a number of notes from the English translation.

"J. Andrews" must refer to Judge Lorrin A. Andrews,²⁵ since it was he who produced both the Hawaiian grammar (in 1854²⁶) and dictionary (1865²⁷) referred to by Bastian. While this does tell us that Judge Andrews produced an unfinished translation of Malo, it does not tell us that it is the one preserved in KMH-Anonymous. There is, however, one footnote in which Bastian did reproduce a single paragraph of Andrews' English text (34:31).

Da der Übersetzer aus dem hawaiischen Text diese Worte bereits mit Fragezeichen angemerkt hat, bleiben etwaige Vermuthungen vorläufig besser fort. In der englischen Übersetzung heißt es:

Since the translator has marked these Hawaiian words with question marks, we have thought it better not to guess at the meanings. Here is the language in the English translation:

While the canoe was being rigged up, it was a time of kapu, if the cord was of kumuhele (?) or perhaps a kumupou (?), it was still under kapu, but if the cord was kaholo (?) or Luukia (?), with which the canoe was to be rigged, rucha [*sic*: such a] canoe would belong to the high chief,

and the camman [*sic*: common] man would forfeit his life, who should dare to go on his canoe, while they were rigging it up.²⁸

Here follows a side-by-side comparison of the English translation from Bastian's article with the text of 34:21 from pages 182 and 183 of H.L.19A. Since the question marks are placed above the line in H.L.19A, I have also moved Bastian's question marks so as to make the comparison easier.

Bastian article, p. 148 (footnote)	H.L.19A, 34:21
While the canoe was being rigged up, it was a time of kapu, if the cord was of (?) (?) kumuhele or perhaps a kumupou, it was still under kapu, but if the cord was (?) ā (?) kaholo or Luukia, with which the canoe was to be rigged, rucha (<i>sic</i>) canoe would belong to the high chief, and the camman [<i>sic</i>] man would forfeit his life, who should dare to go on his canoe, while they were rigging it up.	While the canoe was being rigged up, it was a time of Kapu, if the cord was of (?) (?) Kumuhele or perhaps a kumupau, ²⁹ it was still under kapu but if the cord was (?) (?) Kaholo or luukia, with which the canoe was to be rigged, such a canoe would belong to the high chief and the common man should forfeit his life, who should dare to go on his canoe while they were rigging it up.

The reader will quickly note that other than printing errors, the language is identical.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES REGARDING ANDREWS' TRANSLATION

We have further evidence that Andrews' manuscript was stored together with Malo's original at the offices of the Board of Education (formerly known as the Board of Public Instruction). The following is from the introduction to Abraham Fornander's *History of the Polynesian Race*, also written in the 1880's:³⁰

Among Hawaiian authors and antiquarian literati, to whom I gratefully acknowledge my obligations, are, in the first place, his Majesty King KALAKAUA, to whose personal courtesy and extensive erudition in Hawaiian antiquities I am indebted for much valuable information; the late Hon. LORRIN ANDREWS; and the late DAVID MALO, whose manuscript collections were kindly placed at my disposal by the Honourable Board of Education; . . .

I have already mentioned the anonymous translation of a single chapter from Malo in *The Friend* in 1866, identical with that found in KMH-Anonymous. The following notice appeared on page 16 of the previous' month's edition of the same newspaper:³¹

HAWAIIAN ANTIQUITIES.—We are glad to learn from the Rev. L. Andrews, author of the Dictionary, that he is now engaged in translating and elaborating a work upon the antiquities of the Hawaiian people. The translation is from the original manuscripts of the late Rev. David Malo, of Lahaina. Mr. Malo has been styled the John Locke—the philosopher—of this people. He was really a learned man in Hawaiian history and antiquities. We hope, at a future time, to present extracts to our readers.

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Although the translation of Malo's chapter 34 that appeared the following month was anonymous, it would seem that the identity of the translator would have been known to regular readers of *The Friend*.

Eight years after Andrews's death, there was another plan to publish his translation, this time in the weekly English language periodical, *The Islander*. Following the posthumous appearance of Andrews paper "Remarks on Hawaiian Poetry" and the first part of his translation of Keaulumoku's famous epic *mele*, *Hauī ka Lani* (edited by S.B. Dole) the following notice appeared in the next twelve issues of *The Islander*.³²

Hauī Ka Lani,

or Fallen are the Chiefs. The publication of this wonderful and beautiful Epic, will be commenced from the translation of the late Judge Andrews, in the issue for the 23d of April, to be followed by David Malo's

Hawaiian Antiquities,

by the same translator, thus affording an opportunity for reading and collecting the best specimens of Hawaiian literature, which has never been equalled.

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This notice was eventually dropped and Andrews' translation remained unpublished when the final issue of *The Islander* appeared on October 29, 1875.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, others still remembered that Andrews had prepared a translation of Malo. In 1895 Charles Reed Bishop, the founder of the Bishop Museum, wrote the following in a note to W.D. Alexander:

Who has Judge Andrews' translation of David Malo's Antiquities? and what will it cost to bring it out - or bring out a translation made by Dr. Emerson if that is any better. It is not a thing which many copies would sell.³³

While this does not necessarily tie Andrews to the text of KMH-Anonymous, it does show that Bishop believed that Alexander knew about the translation and where it could be found. It should be remembered here that W.D. Alexander, as a long time member of the Board of Education, had been the initial copyist of H.I.L.19, and was among the first to be notified by Pogue that the government had become the owner of the Malo manuscript.³⁴

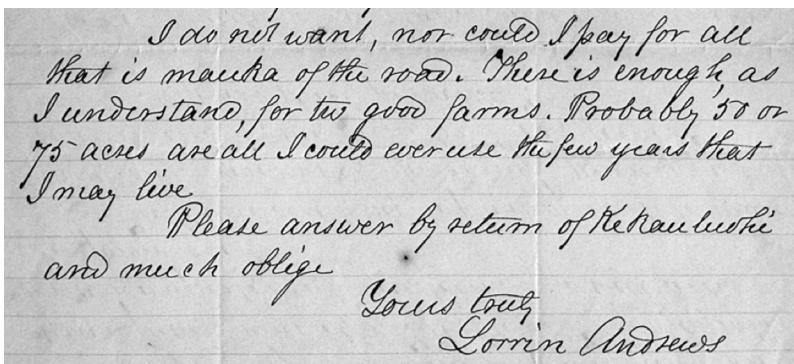
To summarize, the documentary evidence supporting Andrews as the translator is as follows.

- At least five separate sources (*The Friend*, Adolf Bastian, *The Islander*, W.D. Alexander, and C.R. Bishop) appear to have known that Andrews had made a translation of KMH-Malo.
- Both Bastian and Abraham Fornander tell us that the Andrews' manuscript was kept together with the Malo manuscript (as is true to this day).
- Adolf Bastian explicitly names Andrews as the translator of the manuscript at the *Kultus-Ministerium* (Board of Education?), making him, therefore, also the translator of the passage printed in *The Friend* in 1866 and the KMH-Anonymous manuscripts at the Bishop Museum.
- The publication date of the passage printed in *The Friend* (1866), shows that the translation had been made prior to Andrews' death in 1868.

HANDWRITING COMPARISON

Further verification can be obtained through comparing Andrews' handwriting with that of HI.L.19D, the translator's working copy. When I first became aware of the translation and tried to track its author based only on the handwriting, I compared the manuscripts with samples from all the foreigners who were known to have worked with Malo or at the Board of Education prior to 1866: Sheldon Dibble, Pogue, J.S. Emerson, Ephraim Clark, Armstrong, Artemas Bishop, J. Fuller, W.D. Alexander, William Richards, and, of course, Andrews. Because Andrews was at Lahainaluna at the same time as Malo, the writing samples of his that were used for the original comparison came from the 1840's, while both were on Maui. These initial comparisons, though showing many similarities, led me to think that Andrews was probably not the writer of HI.L.19D.

As the above evidence began to accumulate, and I learned that Andrews had begun his translation around 1866, it became clear that it was more appropriate to make the comparison with a sample of Andrews writing from the 1860's. Written samples by Andrews from this period match up very well with both HI.L.19D and also with HI.L.19A, remembering that former (19D) was a working document for the translator's personal use and the latter (19A) is a carefully prepared copy apparently for use by others. Here follows a sample from an 1860 Andrews' letter and a paragraph from HI.L.19D.



I do not want, nor could I pay for all
that is mauka of the road. There is enough as
I understand, for two good farms. Probably 50 or
75 acres are all I could ever use the few years that
I may live.
Please answer by return of the kaula
and much oblige
Yours truly
Lorrin Andrews

Lorrin Andrews, letter to Cooke, Jan. 26, 1860. Missionary Letters Collection, HMCS.

See 5 Again, another class of persons make them-
 servants; such as go before the chief with ^{to humbly} ~~with~~ ^{the} ~~same~~
~~outs, and bow themselves before the chief, with the ex-~~
~~sion, we use thy servants, when they are not really~~
 See 6 Again, those who live with rich people a
 called servants of the rich, they are not real servan
 but are so called in common speech because of their
 humbling themselves
 See 7 Mischievous people are ^{also} called servants; but
 are not really so. Very poor people are called servants, &

HI.L.19D, 20:6-7 (Regarding kauwa)

While the samples printed here are necessarily brief and do not show the full inventory of letters, numbers, and ligatures found in HI.L.19D, a careful comparison of the Andrews' letter with the manuscripts yields matching versions of all of the characters found in any one of them. The 1860 letter has a good example of Andrews' distinctive upper case "S" found at the beginning of each paragraph in HI.L.19D.³⁵ Other distinctive characters are Andrews' bent back final "d" (line 3 of the letter) and his distinctive formation of the number 7 (line 4 of the letter and line 9 of the manuscript). Andrews used multiple forms for many characters and it is possible to find matching versions of all of these in each of the three documents. While the above analysis is strictly that of an amateur in handwriting analysis, I see no reason to doubt that Andrews was the writer of HI.L.19D and HI.L.19A.

THE ANDREWS TRANSLATION AND THE ANDREWS DICTIONARY

The case supporting Judge Andrews as the translator of KMH-Anonymous seems to be well established, but some mysteries remain. The most prominent is the occasional mismatch between the translation and Andrews' own dictionary. In the Pukui-Elbert dictionary, with only a few exceptions, Malo's original Hawaiian is not directly cited, and

references to his work are based largely on Hawaiian words glossed in Emerson's English translation. Andrews, on the other hand, frequently cited Malo's Hawaiian, often naming Malo as the source.³⁶ Several examples of the incongruity between the translation and Andrews' dictionary appear in the notes on chapter 31 shown below. Did Andrews change his mind on the meaning of some passages as he proceeded to translate Malo, or was he simply working quickly through the text, saving serious revision for a later time (including a more thorough consultation of his own previous work)?

PART II. A WORKING SAMPLE: CHAPTER 31 -
No ke KiloKilo 'Uthane (SOUL SIGHTING)

KMH-Anonymous, as represented in HIL.19A, consists of over 300 carefully handwritten pages covering all but the final ten chapters of Malo's book. Rather than characterize the translation based on scattered observations, I have provided below one complete chapter (as did Bastian), to give the reader an idea of Andrews' translation technique. All of the features commented on in the notes below appear to occur throughout his work. Until such time as the manuscripts are published, interested readers will have to read the Andrews translation from the manuscripts at the Bishop Museum.

The parallel texts below provide four presentations of Malo's chapter 31.

1. The Hawaiian is from the critical text prepared for the forthcoming bi-lingual edition of Malo (Langlas and Lyon).³⁷ In this particular chapter, the text of both Hawaiian language manuscripts is nearly identical, thus obviating questions about which manuscript served as the basis of the translations. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized.
2. The second column shows the unedited Andrews text from chapter 31 of HIL.19A. Where there seems to be a copying or editing error, I have inserted "[sic:]" with the corrected text following the colon.
3. The third column is from N.B. Emerson's *Hawaiian Antiquities* which I have included for two reasons: 1) to determine the degree of Emerson's dependence on Andrews, and 2) to show the dramatically different translation style of Emerson.

4. Column four contains a draft version of the forthcoming Langlas and Lyon translation of KMH-Malo. I include this column in order to show how we have understood Malo’s Hawaiian in comparison to what was understood by Andrews or Emerson.

I have not included here Malcolm Chun’s translation since the purpose of this article is not to evaluate all KMH-Malo translations, but rather to gauge Andrews’ work and, secondarily, determine the use made of it by Emerson.

CHAPTER 31: NO KE KILOKILO ‘UHANĒ (REGARDING SOUL SIGHTING)

Davida Malo	Lorrin Andrews	N.B. Emerson	Langlas-Lyon
Mokuna XXXI No ke Kilokilo ‘Uhanē	Chapter 31. Concerning Necromancy	CHAPTER XXXI. NECROMANCY.	CHAPTER 31. CONCERNING KILOKILO ‘UHANĒ
1. He mea ho‘omana ke kilokilo ‘uhane. He hana nui nō ia ma Hawai‘i nei, he mea ho‘oweliweli nō e ho‘opunipuni ai, me ka ho‘oilolo a me ke koho wale aku e make ka mea nona ka ‘uhane āna i ‘ike ai, he mea nō e kaumaha ai ka na‘au o kahi po‘e me ka weliweli nui loa.	Sec 1. Necromancy was connected with the worship of the gods, it was very much practiced formerly on the Hawaiian Islands. It was a practice causing fear, full of deceit, predicting one’s death by means of guessing so from having seen his spirit, it was a practice causing sadness with great fear by those affected by it.	1. Necromancy, <i>kilokilo uhane</i> , was a superstitious ceremony very much practiced in Hawaii nei. It was a system in which barefaced lying and deceit were combined with shrewd conjecture, in which the principal extorted wealth from his victims by a process of terrorizing, averring, for instance, that he had seen the wraith of the victim, and that it was undoubtedly ominous of his impending death. By means of this sort great terror and brooding horror were made to settle on the minds of certain persons.	1. <i>Kilokilo ‘uhane</i> [soul sighting] was a religious activity. It was greatly practiced here in Hawai‘i, a frightening practice used to deceive others by predicting disaster, supposing that the person whose spirit had been seen would die. It was indeed a practice that weighed down the spirit of some people with great terror.

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2. Inā i 'ike ke kahuna kilokilo i ka 'uhane o kekahi mea, ma ke akakū paha ka 'ike 'ana, ma ka 'alawa maka paha, ma ka hihi'o paha, ma ka moe'uhane paha,	Sec 2. If the priest of necromancy should see in a trance the soul of any person, or by a turning of the eyes sidewise, or in a vision or in a dream.	2. The sorcerer, <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> , would announce that the wraith or astral body of a certain one had appeared to him in spectral form, in a sudden apparition, in a vision by day, or in a dream by night.	2. If the <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> [expert in soul sighting] saw the spirit of someone, perhaps in a vision, or while glancing about, or in a dozing dream or a sleeping dream,
3. A laila, e hele nō ua kahuna kilokilo lā i ka mea nona ka 'uhane āna i 'ike ai e ha'i aku iā ia i nā mea a kona 'uhane i hana mai ai [i] ua kahuna kilokilo lā.	Sec 3. Then the priest of necromancy would go to the person, whose soul he had seen, and tell him what things his soul had done to him, the priest of necromancy.	3. Thereupon he called upon the person whose wraith he had seen and	3. Then the <i>kahuna</i> would go to the person whose spirit he had seen and tell him what his spirit had done to the <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> .
4. Penei 'o ia e ha'i aku ai i ka mea nona ka 'uhane āna i 'ike ai, "Ua 'ike au i kēia awakea, ua hele a'e 'oe ma ko'u wahi. Ua 'ike pono mai au, 'o 'oe maoli nō, akā, ua pani 'oe i ou mau maka."	Sec 4. He would speak to the person person (<i>sic</i>) whose soul he had seen as follows. "This day at noon I saw you passing through my place, I saw you clearly, it was you in reality, but you had shut your eyes.	4. Stated the case, saying, "Today, at noon, while at my place, I saw your wraith. It was clearly yourself I saw, though you were screening your eyes.	4. This is how he would speak to the person whose spirit he had seen. "I saw you this noon. You came to my place. I recognized you clearly, it was really you, but you had your eyes closed."
5. "Ua hele kohana wale 'oe me ka malo 'ole ma kou hope, a me ka lewalewa o kou alelo, a me kou ho'ā'ā mai i kou mau maka iā'u, a me ka hahau mai iā'u i ka lā'au a make au iā 'oe i kēia lā. Pōmaika'i paha ko'u ola 'ana iā 'oe."	Sec 5. You were walking entirely naked, without even a <u>malo</u> , with your tongue run out of your mouth with your eyes fixed strangely upon me, and sticking me with a stick, and I was near being killed by you this day, it was very fortunate for me that I escaped	5. You were entirely naked, without even a malo about your loins. Your tongue was hanging out, you eyes staring wildly at me. You rushed at me and clubbed me with a stick until I was senseless. I was lucky to escape from you with my life.	5. "You came naked, without a malo on your buttocks, with your tongue dangling, and staring at me, striking me with a stick to beat me to death. It is, perhaps, fortunate that you let me live."

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6. "Ua huhū mai nō kou akua 'aumakua iā 'oe, ua ana hala paha iā 'oe, ua kā ho'omakauli'i mai iā 'oe. 'O ia nō kou mea nāna 'oe e ho'olewa nei, nāna 'oe i alaka'i a'e nei ma ko'u wahi i nā [a]uane'i."	Sec 6. Your household god is angry with you he is grieved perhaps at some offence, in duplicity he has doomed you, he it is who has condemned, and he it is who led you to my place whence I saw you.	6. Your <i>aumakua</i> is wroth with you on this account. Perhaps he has taken your measure and found you out, and it is probably he who is rushing you on, and has led you to this action which you were seen to commit just now.	6. "Your <i>akua</i> 'aumakua is angry at you, having assessed your offenses and doomed you thoroughly. That indeed is what is causing your spirit to leave your body and what led it to my place that he might then be placated."
7. "Eia nō ka wā pono ke mana'o 'oe e kala kāua iā 'oe, 'oi noho kou 'uhane ma Pu'ukuakahi, o waiho 'oe auane'i, a hala loa kou 'uhane ma Kuakeahu, ma kahi loa'a 'ole i ke kala 'i[a] aku, a lele aku kou 'uhane ma Kapa'aheo, ma kahi make mau loa."	Sec 7. This is the proper time if you think best for us both to seek for your release, while your soul is residing at a distance afar off, lest you here after and your soul spend a long time in an unknown land, where you will not receive pardon for your offence, and your soul will take its flight to a confining prison (paahao) whence is everlasting death."	7. Now is the proper time, if you see fit, to make peace with: me, whilst your soul still tarries at the resting place of Pu'u-ku-akahi. Don't delay until your soul arrives at the brink of Ku-ake-ahu. There is no pardon there. Thence it will plunge into Ka-paaheo, the place of endless misery."	7. "This indeed is the proper time if you wish for us to obtain release for yourself, while your spirit remains at Pu'ukuakahi, lest you be left there until eventually your spirit passes all the way to Kuakeahu, the place where release can no longer be obtained, and then your spirit will fly to Kapa'aheo, the place of unending death."
8. Ma kēlā 'ōlelo 'ana mai a ke kahuna kilokilo, maka'u loa ka mea nona ka 'uhane, a kaumaha loa i kēlā 'ōlelo 'ana mai a ke kahuna kilokilo, a 'ae aku nō e kala 'ia mai 'o ia e ke kahuna kilokilo.	Sec 8. At this speech of the priest of necromancy the person who had been informed of the condition of his soul would be very much afraid and overwhelmed with sadness at the information given and would readily consent that the priest deliver him from the threatening end.	8. At this speech of the <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> , the man whose soul was concerned became greatly alarmed and cast down in spirit, and he consented to have the kahuna perform the ceremony of <i>kala</i> , atonement, for him.	8. At these words of the <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> , the person whose spirit it was would be very frightened and downcast, and would agree to a rite of release to be performed by the <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> .

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9. A laila, kauoha mai ke kahuna kilokilo i ka mea nona ka 'uhane, "E 'imi mua 'oe [i] i'a no ka ho'ā ahi 'ana. Eia nā i'a e 'imi ai: i kala, i weke, i he'e, i maomao, i palani; i 'ilio ke'oke'o, i moa ke'oke'o, i 'awa, i 'umi kapa i kauwewe no ka imu."	Sec 9. Then the priest of necromancy would command the person whose soul had been seen to seek for some substance for kindling a fire, then for the following named fish, the <u>Kala</u> , the <u>Weke</u> , a squid (hee), the <u>maomao</u> , the <u>kalani</u> , the <u>ilio keokeo</u> (white dog), a white fowl, some Awa, and ten kapas as a covering for the oven.	9. The <i>kahuna</i> then directed the man whose soul was in danger first to procure some fish as an offering at the fire-lighting (hoa ahi ana.) The fish to be procured were the <i>kala</i> , the <i>weke</i> , the <i>he'e</i> or octopus, the <i>maomao</i> , the palani, also a white dog, a white fowl, awa, and ten sheets of tapa to be used as a covering for the oven.	9. The <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> would demand of the person, "Obtain first the fish in order to light the ritual fire. Here are the fish to obtain: <i>kala</i> , <i>weke</i> , <i>he'e</i> , <i>maomao</i> , <i>palani</i> . [Also get] a white dog, a white chicken, 'awa, and ten <i>kapa</i> to cover the <i>imu</i> ."
10. A pau kēia mau mea i ka ho'olako 'ia a mākaukau, a laila, hele mai nō ua kahuna lā e ho'ā i ke ahi e kala i hemo ka hala.	Sec 10. When these things were furnished and made ready, then the priest came to kindle the fire and absolve the man from his offence.	10. When these things had been made ready the <i>kahuna</i> proceeded to perform the ceremony of lighting the fire (for the offering) that was to obtain pardon for the man's sin (<i>hala</i> .)	10. When all these things had been furnished and were in readiness, then the <i>kahuna</i> came to light the ritual fire to obtain release for the offense.
11. E pule nō ke kahuna ma ka hi'a 'ana o ke ahi. A 'ā ke ahi, pau ka pule 'ana, a kālua ka umu, a kauwewe 'ia i ke kapa.	Sec 11. The priest prayed all the while the fire was burning, and ceased when the fire was burnt down, the oven was then put in order, and the kapas spread over.	11. The priest kept up the utterance of the incantation so long as the fire-sticks were being rubbed together; only when the fire was lighted did the incantation come to an end. The articles to be cooked were then laid in the oven, and it was covered over with the tapa.	11. The <i>kahuna</i> would pray at the lighting of the fire; once the fire was burning, the prayer was ended, and then the imu was made and covered with the <i>kapa</i> .

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<p>12. A ma ka wā e mo‘a ai ka umu a ho‘omākaukau e ‘ai, e kū nō ke kahuna kilokilo i ka pule kala. Penei ka pule ‘ana:</p> <p><i>“E kū i ke kala, e Lono, I kāu weke. Kala, weke, pūhā ‘ia. Kalakala ia hū‘ena, Kapu ka ‘aha ‘o Kemakalaaukāne. Kala, weke, pūhā ‘ia.”</i></p> <p>Pēlā e pule ai.</p>	<p>Sec 12. When the food was cooked in the oven and those present were prepared to eat the priest of necromancy stood for the absolving prayer, as follows. “Arise to the absolution listen to the pardoning fish the soft cooked fish etc.</p>	<p>12. When the contents of the oven were cooked and the food ready for eating, the <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> stood up and repeated the <i>pule kala</i>, or prayer for forgiveness:</p> <p><i>E Kū i ke kala, E Lono i kau weke kala, Weke puha ia, Kalakala i Ahuena. Kapu ka aha o ke makala au e Kane, Kala weke puha ia. Oh Ku, the forgiving, Oh Lono who grants pardon, Giving full pardon, Undo the knot of our sins at Ahuena. Tabu is the ceremony presided over by you Kane. Pardon is wide and free.</i></p>	<p>12. When the food was cooked and ready to be eaten, the <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> would offer the <i>pule kala</i> (prayer of release). This is how the prayer went:</p> <p><i>Release, oh Lono, And detach [the offense]. Let them be released, detached, broken away, Release that intense anger. Kapu is the Keakalaukāne rite. It is released, detached, broken away. Thus did he pray.</i></p>
<p>13. A pau kēia pule ‘ana, a laila, ‘ai ka mea nona ka ‘uhane i hele ai i ka ‘ai, a ‘ai nō ho‘i ke anaina a pau. A pau ka ‘ai ‘ana, a laila, ‘i mai ke kahuna, “Ua maika‘i ke ahi. No laila, ua pau kou hala; ua ola ‘oe; ‘a‘ole ‘oe e make hou.” A laila, uku ‘ia ke kahuna kilokilo. Pēlā nō ho‘i ko nā ali‘i hana ‘ana ke kilokilo ‘ia.</p>	<p>Sec 13. When this prayer was ended then the person whose spirit had gone its way sat, and all the assembly sat, and having finished eating; the priest said this fire has been favorable therefore thy offense is pardoned, thou art saved thou shalt not die again,” Then the priest of necromancy received his pay. Such also was the form in the case of the chiefs on being under the influence of a necromancer.</p>	<p>13. After this prayer the one in trouble about his soul ate of the food and so did the whole assembly, This done, the <i>kahuna</i> said, “I declare the fire a good one (the ceremony perfect), consequently your sins are condoned, and your life is spared, you will not die.” The <i>kahuna</i> then received his pay.</p> <p>If one of the chiefs found himself to be the victim of <i>kilokilo</i>, he pursued the same plan.</p>	<p>13. When the prayer was finished, the person whose spirit had wandered ate the food and so too did all those assembled. After they had finished eating, the <i>kahuna</i> would say. “The [portent of] the fire was favorable. Therefore your offense is removed. You are restored to life; it will no longer bring about your death. Then the <i>kahuna kilokilo</i> was paid. Thus indeed did the <i>ali‘i</i> when their spirits were sighted.</p>

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14. 'O ke kūkulu hale 'ana kekahi mea i ho'oilolo 'ia. He nui nō nā mea 'ē a 'e i ho'oilolo 'ia, e kala 'ia nō e like me kēia hana 'ana.	Sec 14. The building also of a house was a thing prescribed to one under the influence of this prejudging class, and many other things also were considered to be done like the above, that they might be delivered from death.	14. House-building was a matter that was largely decided by incantation (<i>hooilolo ia</i>), there were also many other matters that were controlled by the same superstition, enterprises that could not succeed without the approval of <i>kilokilo</i> .	14. The building of a house was another thing that might lead to a prediction of disaster. There were many other things too that might lead to prediction of disaster requiring a rite of release like the one described here.
15. 'O ke kanaka makāula kekahi mea i kapa 'ia he mea 'ike i ka 'uhane. E hopu nō 'o ia i ka 'uhane a pa'a ma kona lima, a 'u'umi 'o ia i ka 'uhane a make. Ua kapa 'ia 'o ia ka mea 'ike i ka 'uhane o nā kupapa'u a pau i hūnākele 'ia.	Sec 15. The person who was called <i>Makaula</i> (see <i>papu</i>) was said to be able to see souls and could catch and hold them fast in his hand and could choke them till they were dead; it was said also that he could see the souls of such dead bodies as were buried secretly.	15. The <i>makaula</i> , or prophet, was one who was reputed to be able to see a spirit, to seize" and hold it in his hand and then squeeze it to death. It was claimed that a <i>makaula</i> could discern the ghost of any person, even of one whose body was buried in the most secret place.	15. The <i>makāula</i> was a person said to see spirits. Indeed, he could seize the spirit and hold it fast in his hand, and squeeze it to death. He was said to be a person able to discern the spirits of all the dead bodies that had been buried secretly.
16. Penei 'o ia i 'ike ai i ka 'uhane. Na ka po'e kākāka makāula i po'i ka 'uhane a hahao ma loko o ka 'ai, a hānai 'ia i kanaka. 'O ke kanaka i 'ai, 'ike nō 'o ia i ka 'uhane o ka po'e make a me ka po'e ola. 'A'ole na'e e ho'oilolo mai ka makāula e like me ke kilokilo 'uhane.	Sec 16. In this way he saw these souls; some of the class of men <i>makaula</i> 's would seize a soul and crowd it into a calabash of poi and be given to men to eat, and the person who eat [<i>sic</i> : ate] of it was able to see the spirits of deceased persons, and also those of the living, but he did merely [<i>sic</i> : merely] guess like the necromancer.	16. The <i>makaula</i> made a spirit visible by catching it with his hands; he then put it into food and fed it to others. Anyone who ate of that food would see the spirit of that person, be it of the dead or of the living. The <i>makaula</i> did not deal so extortionately with his patrons as did the <i>kilokilo uhane</i> .	16. This is how he perceived a spirit. The <i>makāula</i> caught the spirit unawares with his hand, then inserted it into starchy food and fed it to someone. The person who ate it could see the spirits of the dead and of the living. The <i>makāula</i> did not, however, predict disaster like the [<i>kāhuna</i>] <i>kilokilo 'uhane</i> .

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17. Ua kapa nā makāula i ka 'uhane o ka po'e e ola ana he 'oi'o, he nui nā 'uhane ma ke 'ano 'oi'o; he kākāola kahi 'uhane. 'O ka 'uhane o ka mea i make mua, he kino wailua ia 'uhane.	Sec 17. Then the Makaula's called the souls of persons still living, where seen in great numbers together, by the name o [<i>sic</i> : of] Oio. There were a great many spirits abroad by that name; <u>kakaola</u> was the name of a few such sprits. But the name of the Spirit of a person already dead was <u>Kinowailua</u> .	17. The <i>makaulas</i> termed the spirits of living people <i>oio</i> . The <i>oio</i> comprised a great number (or procession) of spirits. A single spirit was a <i>kakaola</i> . The spirit of a person already dead was termed a kino-wailua:	17. The <i>makāula</i> termed the spirits of the living 'oi'o. There were many spirits in an 'oi'o (spirit procession). A single spirit [of a living person] was a <i>kākāola</i> . The spirit of someone who had already died was a <i>kino wailua</i> .
18. Eia kekahi i 'ōlelo 'ia he po'e mana loa, 'o nā kāula. Ua 'ōlelo 'ia mai 'o Kānenuiākea ke akua nāna e 'ōlelo mai [i] nā kāula i ko ke ali'i 'ai aupuni make 'ana a me ka he'e 'ana o ke aupuni, a na nā kāula e 'ōlelo nane mai i nā ali'i aupuni. Ua kapa 'ia ua 'ōlelo lā he wānana.	Sec 18. The following is what used to be said, that the phrophets [<i>sic</i> : prophets] had supernatural power. It was said that Kanenui-akea was a god, and that he spake to the prophets, that the prophets would know of the king's death and the scattering of his kingdom, that the prophets would speak by way of parable to the chiefs who enjoyed the kingdom, and such instruction was called wanana (prophecy).	18. The <i>kaula</i> , prophets or foretellers of future events, were supposed to possess more power than other class of <i>kahunas</i> . It was said that <i>Kane-nui-akea</i> was the deity who forewarned the <i>kaulas</i> of such important events as the death of a king (<i>alii ai aupuni</i>), or of the overthrow of a government. These prophesies were called <i>wanona</i> .	18. Here is another group said to have great power, the <i>kāula</i> . It was said that Kānenuiākea was the god who would tell the <i>kāula</i> about the [forthcoming] death of the ruling <i>ali'i</i> and the fall of his government, and it was the <i>kāula</i> who would speak in riddles to the ruling <i>ali'i</i> . That speech was called <i>wānana</i> [prophecy].
19. He po'e 'ano 'ē loa nā kāula, he po'e noho ka'awale ma kahi mehameha, 'a'ole e hui pū me kānaka, 'a'ole e launa pū me kānaka. Mana'o nui lākou i ke akua.	Sec 19. The prophets (<i>kaula</i>) were a singular class of men; they lived sepautely [<i>sic</i> : separately] from other men, and in solitary places, they did not unite with other people nor associate with them, their great thought was about the gods.	19. The <i>kaulas</i> were a very eccentric class of people. They lived apart in desert places, and did not associate with people or fraternize with anyone. Their thoughts were much taken up with the deity.	19. The <i>kāula</i> were very strange people, people who lived alone in a lonely place, not mixing with people, nor visiting with them. Their thoughts were directed mainly to the gods.

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<p>20. 'O ka po'e hewahewa kekahi i mana'o 'ia he mea mana. Ua mana'o 'ia lākou he po'e like me ka po'e kāula a me nā makāula ka 'ike i nā 'uhane o kākana. He wānana nō na'e lākou e like me nā kāula. Akā, he 'oko'a nā pupule a me nā hehena. 'A'ole lākou i like me ke kāula a me ka makāula a me nā hewahewa. He 'ai nā pupule a me nā hehena i ka hana lepo, a he wehe nō i ko lākou wahi hilahila. 'A'ole pēlā nā hewahewa a me [nā] kāula a me nā makāula. Akā he nui ke 'ano o nā hewahewa.</p>	<p>Sec 20 Those suffering under derangement of mind (poe hewahewa) were believed to possess great power. They were supposed to be like the prophets (Kaula) and the Makaula's, in their seeing the spirits of men, also in their telling future events like the prophets. Those acting under mental derangement were very different from the crazy (pupule) and the mad (hehena), these were not the poe kaula, and the poe makaula me [sic: and] the deranged. The crazy and the mad would eat dirt and filth, and shamelessly throw off their covering; but the demented, and the prophets, and the makaula were not so, but there were many kind [sic: kinds] of the demented.</p>	<p>20. It was thought that people in delirium, frenzy, trance, or those in ecstasy (<i>poe hewahewa</i>) were inspired and that they could perceive the souls or spirits of men the same as did the <i>kaulas</i> or the <i>makaulas</i>, i. e., prophets and soothsayers. Their utterances also were taken for prophecies the same as were those of the <i>kaula</i>. It was different, however, with crazy folks (<i>pupule</i>) and maniacs (<i>hehena</i>): they were not like prophets, soothsayers and those in a state of exaltation, i. e., the <i>hewahewa</i>. Crazy people and maniacs ate filth, and made an indecent exposure of themselves. Those in a state of exaltation, prophets and soothsayers did not act in this manner. There were many classes of people who were regarded as <i>hewahewa</i>, (i. e., cranky or eccentric.)</p>	<p>20. Those people who were <i>hewahewa</i> [disturbed] were also thought to have power. It was thought that they, like the <i>kāula</i> and <i>makāula</i>, could see the spirits of people. They prophesied as did the <i>kāula</i>. But those who were <i>pupule</i> [insane] and those who were <i>hehena</i> [raving mad] were different, not like the <i>kāula</i>, <i>makāula</i> or <i>hewahewa</i>. Those who were <i>pupule</i> or <i>hehena</i> ate excrement and exposed their private parts. That was not how the <i>kāula</i>, <i>makāula</i>, and <i>hewahewa</i> acted. However, there were many kinds of <i>hewahewa</i>.</p>

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21. Inā i aloha nui kekahi i kāna kāne, hewahewa nō. Pēlā nō ke aloha nui ke kāne i kāna wahine, hewahewa nō. Pēlā nō ka po‘e a pau i mana‘o nui ai ³⁸ ma kekahi mea, hewahewa kekahi a hewahewa ‘ole kekahi.	Sec 21. If any woman loved her husband very much, or a husband loved his wife very much they were considered out of mind (hewahewa) so also those whose minds dwell princi- pally and long upon one thing; some of these become deranged but some do not.	[21] This was also the case with all those who centered their thoughts on some fad or specialty—(some of them were perhaps monomaniacs)— some of them were <i>hewahewa</i> and some were not.	21. If someone greatly loved her husband, she might indeed become <i>hewahewa</i> . Likewise if a man greatly loved his wife. The same was true of all those who were obsessed about something, some became <i>hewahewa</i> and some didn’t.

A NOTE ON THE INCOMPLETE NATURE OF ANDREWS’ WORK

In evaluating Andrews’ translation, we do well to remember that it, like Malo’s original, is an incomplete and often unedited work. Like most manuscripts, much remained uncorrected: dittographies, missing punctuation, awkward phrases, misspellings, etc., many of which would certainly have been fixed had the work been published or even completed. In presenting a part of his unfinished work I do not mean to cavil at its deficiencies, but rather to provide guidelines for its use in understanding Malo. Andrews did more work in documenting the Hawaiian language than any single scholar up to the time of Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert. His works include his early word list of more than 6000 words in 1838,³⁹ his grammar in 1854, his article on Hawaiian poetry (published posthumously in 1875), and his *magnum opus*, the 1865 *Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*. He also contributed to the Bible translation (Proverbs, translated from the Hebrew) and also translated numerous textbooks for use at Lahainaluna and other schools. In spite of this impressive body of work, Andrews was never anything but modest in describing his accomplishments in the language, whether in acknowledging his inability to express himself in it as he would like, or his observation that there would never be a truly adequate translation of the Bible into Hawaiian until Hawaiians learned Greek and Hebrew.

In regard to Malo, Andrews was one of the few foreigners who seemed to have recognized the real worth of the *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*. While Armstrong, Pogue, N.B. Emerson and others sometimes disparaged Malo's book as disappointing, Andrews devoted what he knew to be the few remaining years of his life to making Malo available in Hawaiian and English.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER 31

Title: Necromancy. Andrews and other 19th century translators of Hawaiian usually rendered each Hawaiian term by what they considered the closest English equivalent, even when there really was no suitable equivalent. *Necromancy*, in its primary meaning of "conjuration of the spirits of the dead," is unsuitable since *kilokilo 'uhane* (soul sighting) here refers to the wandering souls of living persons. Andrews appears to be using the word as a synonym of "sorcery," a common 19th century usage that is also borrowed by Emerson, although Emerson does show the Hawaiian term, and then uses *kilokilo 'uhane* thereafter.

Sec 1. While *necromancy* is a pejorative rendering of *kilokilo 'uhane* (soul sighting), "connected with the worship of the gods" is a surprisingly neutral translation of *he mea ho'omana* (religious activity), which Emerson mistranslates as "a superstitious ceremony." In fact, Emerson's translation of the whole paragraph, while far longer and far more literary than Malo's original or Andrews' close translation, is also far more censorious.

Sec 2. Andrews throughout renders *kahuna* as priest, although the *kahuna* here functions as a specialist rather than as a priest. Emerson at first uses *sorcerer*, but afterwards reverts to *kahuna*.

Emerson injects several ideas not present in the Hawaiian; where Andrews consistently renders *'uhane* (spirit, life force) as "soul," Emerson here translates it as "wraith or astral body."

Emerson has also rendered *ma ka 'alawa maka* as "in a sudden apparition" while Andrews has taken it as the manner in which the *kilokilo 'uhane* had seen the *'uhane*, by a glancing look, rather than by direct contemplation. Emerson appears to be paraphrasing since *'alawa maka* does not mean "apparition."

Sec 3. Emerson omits the second half of the paragraph, *e ha'i aku*

iā ia i nā mea a kona 'uhane i hana mai ai [i] ua kahuna kilokilo lā (to tell him the things which his 'uhane had done to that *kahuna kilokilo*). As elsewhere, Emerson frequently alters the style of Malo's language in order to give it what he considered a more literary tone.⁴⁰

Sec 4. Andrews has "you had shut your eyes" for *pani 'oe i ou mau maka*, while Emerson has "you were screening your eyes." Both are possible, although *pani i nā maka* is the common term for closing the eyes.

Sec 6. Andrews translates *akua 'aumakua* as "household god," not a particularly suitable equivalent, while Emerson uses *aumakua*.

Andrews has rendered *ana hala* as "grieved" while Emerson has "taken your measure." The phrase is an unusual one, literally "to measure fault."

Kā ho'omakauli'i is translated by Andrews as "in duplicity." He gives two primary senses for the word in his dictionary, 1) to feign friendship, and 2) to be thoroughgoing. While *kā* does fit for "condemn," the second meaning would seem to work better here, i.e. "utterly condemn." Emerson again appears to paraphrase, rendering it as "has found you out."

Ho'olewa: Andrews seems to have read *ho'ohewa* (blame, condemn) instead of *ho'olewa* (to suspend), although both HI.L.18 and HI.L.19 have *hoolewa*. Emerson has rendered this as "rushing you on." This again seems to be paraphrase, since the word does not carry this meaning.

Both Andrews and Emerson seem to have misread the last phrase of the paragraph (*i nauanei*) as *i nānā nei* (saw) instead of *i nā uane'i* (that he might soon be placated). While it is often difficult to distinguish *n* from *u* in the Hawaiian manuscripts, both clearly have *uane'i*, i.e. [*a*]*uane'i* (soon, presently) which is more suitable in terms of both grammar and context.⁴¹

Sec 7. The Hawaiian text, as well as Emerson's translation, make it clear that the *kahuna kilokilo* had three named stops in mind for the 'uhane which had become separated from its body, namely Pu'ukuakahi, where the 'uhane had been sighted; Kuakeahu, where the 'uhane would find no pardon; and finally Kapa'aheo, the place of *make mau loa* (everlasting death). In neither Hawaiian manuscript are these names capitalized, as is not uncommon of proper names throughout Malo's book, and, consequently, Andrews does not seem

to have recognized them as place names. Emerson, on the other hand, does make this connection, although his note seems questionable:

The notion implied in the expression, *make mau loa*, everlasting death, would seem to be an imported thought, not at all native to the Polynesian mind. It seems as if Malo had allowed his new theology to creep in and influence his statement at this place.⁴²

Emerson might be right about *make mau loa* (unending death), but Malo was generally quite careful in avoiding syncretism in his accounts.⁴³ Here he is reporting the statement of a *kahuna kilokilo* rather than presenting his own theology. The *kāhuna kilokilo* continued to practice after 1820⁴⁴ and might well have made use of terminology current in the new religion. In this context, however, *make mau loa* seems to be an assertion that *ola* (life, recovery) could never come about in Kapa'aheo. It is true that *make mau loa* is found in the Hawaiian Bible, but when we consider that much of Hawaiian Christian theological vocabulary was borrowed directly from the old religion, it is also possible that it was not a missionary coinage. The list of biblical terminology taken from classical Hawaiian religion is a long one: *Kaiakahinali'i* (flood), *pule* (prayer), *akua* (god), *ola* (life, salvation), *kala* (forgiveness), *kahuna* (priest), *haipule* (devout), *lua-kini* (temple), *mōhai* (sacrifice), *pono* (righteousness, justification), *hewa* (sin), etc.⁴⁵

Andrews has misread *Kapa'aheo* as *Kapaahao*. *Pa'ahao* is the modern word for prison, i.e. *hale pa'ahao* (iron holding house).

Sec 8. *Kala* (loosen, detach, forgive, purify) is here rendered as "deliver" by Andrews. Emerson uses the Hawaiian word, but curiously glosses it as "atonement." The important Hawaiian words in this context (*kala*, *weke*, *he'e*) emphasize separation of the *hala* (fault) from the offending person. While conciliation (*nā*) is significant here, atonement does not seem to be central.

Sec 9. In the Hawaiian the *kahuna kilokilo* gives a verbal command to the offender, "First go find fish for lighting the fire. Here are the fish you should seek: *kala*, *weke*, *he'e*, *maomao*, *palani*. [Also get] a white dog, a white chicken, [and] ten pieces of *kapa* to cover the *imu*." Both Andrews and Emerson represent this in indirect speech. Andrews has miscopied *palani* as *kalani*.

As elsewhere throughout his translation, Andrews provides no commentary regarding the items to be gathered. Emerson, too, has provided no explanation here. The important thing to note is that each fish has a verbal connection to the idea of detachment of something undesirable (*kala*: loosen; *weke*: separate, loosen; *he'e*: slide off, slip away; *palani*: stink; *mao*: assuage). In passages such as these that depend on sound associations, translation alone is insufficient to convey the connections obvious to the original audience.

Sec 11. Andrews translates *ma ka hi'a 'ana o ke ahi* as “while the fire was burning” and *a 'ā ke ahi* as “when the fire had burned down.” Emerson corrects this to “so long as the fire-sticks were being rubbed together,” and “when the fire was lighted.” In this way, the prayer lasts only the length of the time it took to kindle the fire, not until the fire had burned all the way down.

Sec 12. Both Andrews and Emerson literally translate *kū ... i ka pule* as “stand/stood for the prayer.” While the *kāhuna* probably did stand up, the phrase *kū i ka pule* does not mean “stand to pray” but “perform/offer the prayer” (see 36:69).

Here as elsewhere, Andrews does not translate the prayer. Emerson, a poet himself, does translate it, but as with all the translated *mele* and *pule* in *Hawaiian Antiquities*, Emerson does not let on just how much he was guessing. The language of the *pule* and *mele* recited by various *kāhuna* in *Malo* is notoriously cryptic. It is often archaic and we are left to wonder to what degree it was intended to be understood by those not trained in it.

The *mele* and *pule* as printed in the manuscripts show no stichometry, indifferent capitalization and word division, and inconsistent punctuation. Emerson's stichometry in the first two lines is, however, particularly questionable. We (Langlas and Lyon) have understood the initial *kū* as a verb (stand, perform), and *Lono* as the name of the god being invoked. Emerson has understood the first as the god *Kū*. Since *kū i ke kala* (carry out the loosening; loosen) is particularly appropriate to the context, and the ceremony itself is not called a *weke*, we think this better matches the prayer to the rite being performed. In the third line, we have divided the words as *ia hū'ēna*. Lastly, we have understood *Kemakalaaukāne* as the name of the rite, while Emerson has understood it as *ka 'āha o ke makala āu, e Kāne* (“the ceremony presided over by you, Kāne”). Emerson has supplied

the vocative particle (*e Kāne*) although it is not found in either Hawaiian manuscript.

Sec 14. Both Andrews' and Emerson's translations of this paragraph are perplexing. Although Andrews' dictionary provides a definition of *ho'oilolo* suitable to this context ("to predict evil"), neither translator employs it here. Andrews has "prescribed to one under the influence of this prejudging class" and Emerson has "a matter that was largely decided by incantation (*hooiloilo ia*)." The second occurrence of *ho'oilolo* is, in Andrews, "things also were considered to be done like the above" while Emerson has "controlled by the same superstition."

Sec 15. The meaning of Andrews' parenthetical note "see papu" is not clear.

Sec 16. The translation of *ho'oilolo* is again perplexing. Andrews has "he did nearly [*sic*] guess . . ." Since the Hawaiian has '*A'ole na'e e ho'oilolo mai*," he most likely meant "he did [not] merely guess." Emerson renders it as "deal extortionately." Throughout the passage the word appears to refer to a prediction of bad things to come in consequence for unresolved offenses (*hala*) which needed to be detached (*kala*) from the offender. In the case of the *kahuna kilokilo*, this knowledge would lead to personal profit. The *makāula*, however, could also see wandering *'uhane* but did not use this ability as a basis for profit.

Sec 18. Emerson introduces a comparison not found in the Hawaiian, "more power than other classes of *kahunas*." Malo makes no such comparison, nor does he say that *makāula* are a type of *kahuna* (specialist).

Sec 20. Emerson's translation of the *po'e hewahewa* is quite expansive: "people in delirium, frenzy, trance, or those in ecstasy (*poe hewahewa*) were inspired . . ." Andrews has "derangement of mind (*poe hewahewa*)."

Sec 21. Emerson has loosely paraphrased paragraph 21 and merged it into paragraph 20. The specific examples given by Malo as illustrative of *hewahewa* behavior have been replaced by Emerson's own psychological analysis.

Malo here illustrates a secondary meaning of *hewahewa* (disturbed), one that does not result in special sight or predictive power. Andrews makes this connection clear by including the Hawaiian word in parentheses.

CHARACTERIZING ANDREWS' TRANSLATION
(AND SOME THOUGHTS ON EMERSON)

Andrews' translation closely follows Malo's original. Where a close translation works, he is literal. Where he has read the Hawaiian correctly, he conveys Malo's meaning clearly. On the other hand, his use of unsuitable English terminology for Hawaiian concepts that have no suitable English equivalents does provide the reader with a false sense of familiarity. In several passages, where Malo has used uncommon words (e.g. *ho'oilolo*, *ho'omākauli'i*), Andrews' translation is questionable, even though his dictionary contains definitions more suited to the context than the ones he has employed. He has also occasionally misread the Hawaiian, (two instances in 31:6 alone). The most serious shortcomings, and ones that he would probably have made good had he lived long enough, are the missing translations of *pule*, *mele*, and, of course, the final 10 chapters. The omission of the *pule* and *mele* is particularly to be regretted since in 1866 there were probably still persons living who could have helped him unravel their mysteries. By the time Emerson tackled these *mele* (late 1890's), nearly eighty years after the abolition of the *'ai kapu*, there could have been few, if any, remaining eyewitnesses who had participated as adults in the events described.⁴⁶

In spite of these deficiencies, Andrews' work does contain valuable insights for understanding Malo. In the course of our (Langlas and Lyon) work on Malo, we have modified a number of paragraphs after considering how Andrews had understood them. He did, after all, know Malo personally while at Lahainaluna and was involved with him in the work of the *'Aha 'Ōmi i nā Mea Kāhiko o Hawai'i* (the first Hawaiian Historical Society). If we remember that his work is incomplete and not ready for publication, there is much to be learned from it.

As is indicated by the shared title, chapter numbers, and many other points in common, Emerson almost certainly consulted Andrews' work. According to Bastian and Fornander, Malo's original and the translation were kept together. Now and then we hear echoes, usually faint ones, of Andrews' language in Emerson. Dr. Emerson was, however, a thoroughly literary man. In addition to his translations, he also collected, composed, interviewed and edited. His English style, though often considered *hybolic* by modern students, is clear, vigor-

ous, and occasionally elegant. While he consulted and often followed Andrews, his language and many of his interpretations are his own.

Since I have written elsewhere of Emerson's *Hawaiian Antiquities* as a guide to Malo,⁴⁷ it is sufficient to say here that the faults and virtues pointed out there are equally present here. Emerson weaves his own perceptions into Malo's text to such a degree that only the reader of Hawaiian can unravel the two. As a literary man, his English is articulate and his renderings of difficult passages are often admirable. The problem is that Emerson was not Malo, nor did he have access to eye-witnesses of the things Malo saw and knew intimately. Nevertheless, Emerson so freely intertwined himself with Malo that it often makes his *Hawaiian Antiquities* a capricious guide for understanding Malo or classical Hawaiian culture. His notes are equally frustrating. They are often marvelous sources of information that is unobtainable today. Equally often, they are misleading or present Emerson as a replacement for Malo as cultural expert, glibly commenting on what Hawaiians really believed with a hubris that is sometimes shocking. His is an important book for understanding Malo and, at the same time, the source of much misunderstanding of Malo. Emerson, certain of Malo's Christian zeal, often makes him sound like a zealot even when Malo's own language seems neutral. The above notes show several examples of this. *Caveat lector!*

HE MANA'O

As Adolf Bastian noted, Lorrin Andrews was widely considered the leading foreign authority on the Hawaiian language. During his four decades in Hawai'i, both at Lahainaluna and as a judge in O'ahu, he had daily contact with older chiefs and other native scholars, particularly S.M. Kamakau,⁴⁸ and he produced a large body of invaluable work, despite pressing official duties and indifferent health, including important works on Hawaiian poetry.⁴⁹ And yet, the obvious deficiencies of his translation, in particular his discomfort in the *mele*, serve as a necessary reminder that much of classical Hawaiian thought, religion, and science remained out of reach of all those who did not live it, even of those most accomplished in the language. How much more so is this true of those missionary sons who wrote over 75 years after the momentous events of 1819 and 1820?

There still remains, 160 years after Malo's death, much in his eyewitness description of that remarkable civilization that is still poorly comprehended, or worse, misunderstood. Those who would make use of it are like fishermen sailing over a deep-water *ko'a*: some look down and decide, from their surface vantage point that there really isn't much there and move on to more promising grounds. Others, like Andrews, have recognized its richness and sent down what few lines they could. Its depths have certainly not been sounded by the handful of translations or specialized studies that have appeared heretofore (including our own). It still seems that every new hook and line pull up something new and unexpected: *he i'a hohonu o ka 'ike* (a deep-water fish caught only by a practiced fisherman), *he i'a no ka moana*, *he kū ke aho i ke ko'a* (a fish of the wide ocean, one requiring a very long line).

NOTES

- ¹ David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* translated and edited by Nathaniel Emerson (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1951).
- ² Sheldon Dibble (assumed editor), *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* (Lahainaluna: Mea Pai Palapala no ke Kulanui, 1838).
- ³ John Fawcett Pogue, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii, i kakaia e Rev. J. F. Pokuea, mamuli o ka Moolelo Hawaii i paia ma Lahainaluna i ka M. H. 1838, oia ke Kumu o keia, a ua Hooiuii no nae* (Honolulu: Hale Paipalapala Aupuni, 1858).
- ⁴ All manuscripts starting with "HI.L." are housed at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
- ⁵ For a full account of the KMH-Malo manuscripts, their histories, and textual affinities, see volume one of the author's M.A. thesis at UH Hilo (in Hawaiian). Jeffrey Lyon, *Ka 'Ōlelo Kumu o kā Davida Malo Mo'olelo Hawai'i. Puke Mua: Ka 'Ōlelo Ho'olauna* (Hilo: University of Hawai'i at Hilo Masters thesis, 2012).
- ⁶ Richard Armstrong, letter to E.P. Bond, April 15, 1858, Board of Education, Outgoing Correspondence, AH.
- ⁷ Edward P. Bond, letter to the editor, *The Polynesian*, April 24, 1858.
- ⁸ Other readers included Rev. Artemas Bishop and Rev. Pogue. Richard Armstrong, letter to E.P. Bond, July 9, 1858, Board of Education, Outgoing Correspondence, AH. W.D. Alexander is also mentioned as one of the readers who did not think the manuscript of great value, but Alexander himself mentions, 30 years later, that he was then reading through Malo in preparation for his book on Hawaiian history. Carter Manuscript Acquisition Notes, 1908, 16, BPBM.
- ⁹ Armstrong mentions Prince Lot specifically, but asserts there were others. Armstrong, letter to Bond, July 9, 1858, AH.

- ¹⁰ John Pogue, letter to Richard Armstrong, April 3, 1858, Board of Education, Incoming Correspondence (Maui), AH.
- ¹¹ "Extract from Hawaiian Antiquities," *F*, March 1866.
- ¹² Davida Malo, *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, edited by Malcolm Naea Chun (Honolulu: The Folk Press, 1987).
- ¹³ Davida Malo, *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i, Hawaiian Traditions*, edited and translated by Malcolm Naea Chun (Honolulu: First People's Press, 2006).
- ¹⁴ Using N.B. Emerson's chapter divisions. See the note in the following paragraph regarding Malo's original chapter numbers.
- ¹⁵ Carter Manuscript Acquisition Notes, (n.d.), BPBM.
- ¹⁶ Lyon, *Ka 'Ōlelo Kumu*, vol. 1, 48ff.
- ¹⁷ Lyon, *Ka 'Ōlelo Kumu*, vol. 1, footnote to section 5.2.5.
- ¹⁸ John Pogue, letter to W.D. Alexander, April 3, 1859, Missionary Letters Collection, HMCS.
- ¹⁹ Perhaps the note was meant to refer to Malo's original Hawaiian and was accidentally copied to the folder containing the English translation.
- ²⁰ There are no letters or other documents in English signed by Malo, but we do have published missionary translations of a few of his letters. See Chun, *Hawaiian Traditions*, vii.
- ²¹ "Extract from Hawaiian Antiquities," *F*, 1866.
- ²² Since the translator of KMH-Anonymous made use of both Hawaiian language manuscripts, this also tells us that HI.L.19 (the Alexander copy) had been at least partially completed prior to 1866.
- ²³ Adolf Bastian, "Aus einem Hawaiischen Manuskript," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 1881) 142–150.
- ²⁴ The translations of extracts from Bastian's article are my own, with advice from John Charlot.
- ²⁵ Lorrin Andrews was widely known as "Judge Andrews." It might be that Bastian thought that "Judge" was his first name, hence "J. Andrews."
- ²⁶ Lorrin Andrews, *Grammar of the Hawaiian Language* (Honolulu: The Mission Press, 1854).
- ²⁷ Lorrin Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language to which is Appended an English-Hawaiian Vocabulary and a Chronological Table of Remarkable Events* (Honolulu: Whitney, 1865).
- ²⁸ Bastian, "Hawaiischen Manuskript" 148–149.
- ²⁹ This is *kumupou* in both Hawaiian manuscripts (HI.L.18 and HI.L.19). The Xerox copy of HI.L.19D is missing this passage, but since Bastian has *kumupou*, not *kumupau* as found in HI.L.19A, he was either reading from HI.L.19D, or correcting it based on the Hawaiian text or the advice of his local expert.
- ³⁰ Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origin and Migrations and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I*, volumes I–III, (Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969, originally published in 1885) 5–6.
- ³¹ *F*, February 1866.

- ³² *The Islander*, April 23, 1875.
- ³³ Carter Manuscript Acquisition Notes, (pages not numbered), BPBM.
- ³⁴ Pogue, letter to W.D. Alexander, April 3, 1859, HMCS.
- ³⁵ This “S” does not appear in the letter sample shown above, but is found at the beginning of the letter.
- ³⁶ See the entries on *AI-NA*, *A-KU*, *A-LI-HI*, *IA-NU-A-RI*, *O-PE-LU*, *KAI-A-KA-HI-NA-LII*, etc. I have counted 20 entries where Malo’s manuscript is explicitly cited in Andrew’s dictionary, and many other entries where his language is quoted, although Malo is not mentioned as the source.
- ³⁷ A draft version of this text first appeared in volume 2 of my M.A. thesis: Jeffrey Paul Lyon, *Ka ‘Ōlelo Kumu o kā Davida Malo Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i. Puke ‘Elua: Nā Ki‘i o ka Palapala Kākau Lima ‘o HI.L.18, Ke Kikokikona Kope Like, Ka Papa Hō‘ike ‘Okō‘a, a me ka ‘Ōlelo Loi a Wae ‘ia* (Hilo: University of Hawai‘i at Hilo M.A. thesis, 2012).
- ³⁸ 31:21. “ia” has been changed to “ai”
- ³⁹ Lorrin Andrews, *AVocabulary of Words in the Hawaiian Language* (Lahainaluna: Press of the High School, 1836).
- ⁴⁰ See Jeffrey (Kapali) Lyon, “Davida Malo, Nathaniel Emerson, and the ‘Sins’ of Hawaiians,” *Hūlili*, v. 7, 2011, 109ff.
- ⁴¹ In HI.L.18, this paragraph was not copied by Malo, although he did copy some parts of chapter 31 (31:8–9 and 31:11–20). Here, as is frequently true for all three copyists, spaces between words are wanting.
- ⁴² Emerson, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 153.
- ⁴³ Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Rituals and Society in Ancient Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) xxiv.
- ⁴⁴ There is a fascinating firsthand account of *kilokilo* ‘uhane in a letter to the newspaper *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, February 28, 1838.
- ⁴⁵ The glosses provided here are the Christian usages of these words. In each case, the meaning differed to some degree in classical Hawaiian religion.
- ⁴⁶ Emerson’s own notes, housed in the Emerson Collection at the Huntington Library, provide the names of a few informants, but there is little indication of age or background.
- ⁴⁷ Lyon, “Davida Malo, Nathaniel Emerson, and the ‘Sins’ of Hawaiians,” *Hūlili*, v.7, 91–132.
- ⁴⁸ Curtis J. Lyons, “A Song for Kualii,” *The Islander*, October 29, 1875.
- ⁴⁹ Lorrin Andrews, “Remarks on Hawaiian Poetry,” *The Islander*, April 16 and 23, 1875. Samuel Ballard Dole, “Hau ka Lani. — By Keaulumoku. Translated by the late Judge Andrews,” *The Islander*, April 23, 1875 (and continued over the next 9 issues).